

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02016 01 OF 02 221207Z

40

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 BIB-01 ISO-00 HEW-02 OIC-02 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 CU-02 STR-01

OMB-01 OES-03 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 CIEP-01 /058 W

----- 058691

O R 221030Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1593

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 267

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 2016

DEPARTMENT PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEW, SGEN, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - MARCH 17-21

1. SUMMARY. WITH ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF MEETINGS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT WEEK, MANY CONFERENCE SUBCOMMITTEES BEGAN THEIR EASTER RECESS ON MARCH 22, AS CSCE COMPLETED A GENERALLY POSITIVE WEEK. USDEL TABLED NEW LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS, BUT PROGRESS TOWARD REGISTRATION WAS BLOCKED BY FRENCH AND ROMANIANS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 02016 01 OF 02 221207Z

AND FRG HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH GERMAN LANGUAGE TEXT. TENTA-

TIVE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON THE NINTH PRINCIPLE, COOPERATION AMONG STATES, WHICH MAY BE FORMALLY AGREED FOLLOWING EASTER RECESS. SOVIETS GAVE FULLER EXPLANATION OF THEIR REVISED POSITION ON NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS, SAYING THEY WOULD BE FLEXIBLE ON SPECIFIC PARAMETERS IF CSCE ACCEPTS IN PRINCIPLE THAT NOTIFICATION WILL BE VOLUNTARY. IN BASKET III, TEXT ON YOUTH WAS "MENTALLY" REGISTERED, ALONG WITH ONE ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, WHICH HAD BEEN HELD UP BY A US RESERVATION. COORDINATING COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED A WORKING GROUP ON TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF STAGE III, WHICH WILL BEGIN WORK AFTER EASTER RECESS. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO HANG TOUGH ON KEY BASKET III ISSUES, AND THE USUAL PRE-RECESS PRESSURES BEGAN TO BE FELT. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- US DEL TABLED NEW LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS, WITH WIDESPREAD SUPPORT, BUT DISCUSSION OR MOVEMENT TOWARD REGISTRATION WAS BLOCKED BY FRENCH, WHO LINKED REGISTRATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE TO AGREEMENT ON QRR SAVING CLAUSE AND LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE OF ALL PRINCIPLES, AND ROMANIANS, WHO SAID NEW TEXT COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED UNTIL SECOND READING OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. FRG DEL POINTED OUT TO PRINCIPAL INTERESTED DELEGATIONS THAT CSCE SECRETARIAT'S GERMAN LANGUAGE TRANSLATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE TEXT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM, THUS PROVOKING IRATE RESPONSE FROM SOVIETS AND GDR. THIS INCIDENT CALLED ATTENTION TO A POTENTIALLY SERIOUS PROBLEM WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT AFTER EASTER. AT FINAL MEETING BEFORE EASTER RECESS PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED TEN-TATIVE AGREEMENT ON LAST REMAINING SENTENCE IN PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION AMONG STATES. SENTENCE, WHICH COVERS ISSUE OF ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS IN INTER-STATE COOPERATION, WAS WORKED OUT IN DIFFICULT PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NATO ALLIES AND SOVIETS, WHEN SOVIETS AGREED TO ACCEPT A REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF "PERSONS" IN SUCH COOPERATION.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- ATTENTION OF SUBCOMMITTEE FOCUSED ON SKILLFULLY ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH AND WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES TO PROMOTE NEW SOVIET POSITION THAT MANEUVER CBM SHOULD BE "ON A VOLUNTARY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 02016 01 OF 02 221207Z

BASIS." PACT REPS SAID THAT THEY WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTING MEASURE; THAT THEY WERE SEEKING ONLY "AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE" THAT MEASURE WOULD BE VOLUNTARY, AND COULD LEAVE ASIDE FOR THE TIME BEING QUESTION OF LANGUAGE FOR "NATURE OF COMMITMENT"; AND THAT FURTHER PACT FLEXIBILITY ON MANEUVER PARAMETERS WOULD BE SHOWN IF AND WHEN OTHERS ACCEPTED IDEA OF VOLUNTARINESS. ALLIES GENERALLY WELCOMED PACT STATEMENTS AS REOPEN-

ING DOOR FOR REAL NEGOTIATIONS ON MANEUVER CBM, BUT TOOK RESERVED POSITIONS ON NEW SOVIET CONDITIONS. NEUTRALS WERE MORE OPENLY CRITICAL, BUT ONLY ROMANIA APPEARED TO REJECT SOVIET MOVE OUTRIGHT. YUGOSLAV REP OBSERVED THAT "VOLUNTARY BASIS" WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE IF IT WAS INTENDED TO MEAN IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE OPTIONAL, AND SUPERFLUOUS IF IT WAS INTENDED TO MEAN OBLIGATION WAS TO BE UNDERTAKEN AS AN ACT OF FREE WILL, AND ASKED SOVIETS TO CLARIFY THEIR INTENTIONS FURTHER. IN ALLIED CAUCUS, THERE WAS NO DISSENT FROM VIEW THAT ALLIES COULD IN DUE COURSE AND ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS ACCEPT SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF SOVIET CONDITIONS. CAUCUS REPS ALSO TENTATIVELY AGREED THAT IF THEIR INSTRUCTIONS PERMIT THEM TO WORK TOWARDS AN EARLY COMPROMISE IN POST-EASTER PERIOD, THEY MIGHT GIVE GENERAL ASSURANCES TO THIS EFFECT TO PACT REPS, AND SEEK SOME GENERAL ASSURANCES FROM PACT ABOUT CONCESSIONS THEY CAN EXPECT ON MANEUVER PARAMETERS, BEFORE PROCEEDING WITH MORE DETAILED DRAFTING. ALLIED CAUCUS WILL RECONVENE ON PARIL 2, AND SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS RESUME ON APRIL 3.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- IN FULL COMMITTEE ROMANIA ASKED FOR DEFERRAL OF FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSED PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH DEALING WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND THE MEETING THEN ADJOURNED. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES WORKED TO ELIMINATE BRACKETS FROM THE TEXTS ON COMMERCIAL INFORMATION AND BUSINESS CONTRACTS REGISTERED A YEAR AGO. EFFORTS IN THE NATO CAUCUS TO AGREE ON A SAFEGUARDS PROPOSAL WERE STYMIED AS THE RESULT OF THE EC'S RETREATING FROM THE "DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS" FORMULA THEY HAD EARLIER INFORMALLY PROPOSED AND WHICH WAS ACCEPTABLE TO US. IT NOW APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT THEY MAY BE WILLING TO ACCEPT A FORMULA ALONG THE LINES OF THE ORIGINAL US SUGGESTION REFERRING TO "SERIOUS INJURY, INCLUDING

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 02016 01 OF 02 221207Z

MARKET DISRUPTION." IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE ALLIED AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS ATTACKED SOVIET PROPOSAL, INTRODUCED TWO WEEKS AGO, FOR EXTENSIVE REVISION OF AGREED TEXTS. ALLIES AND NEUTRALS POINTED TO NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF SETTING PRECEDENT FOR REOPENING AGREED CONFERENCE TEXTS.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE MENTALLY REGISTERED THE TEXT ON YOUTH IN A FORMAL SESSION AND NARROWED DISAGREEMENT ON ONE ISSUE IN THE TOURISM TEXT IN A SERIES OF INFORMAL SESSIONS. ON THE MORE CRITICAL TOPICS, THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT REMAINED STUCK AND SOME PROGRESS ON THE TRAVEL TEXT LOOKED POSSIBLE NEXT WEEK. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE MENTALLY REGISTERED ANOTHER PARAGRAPH IN THE DIFFICULT PAPER ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, WHEN USDEL LIFTED ITS RESERVATION. BUT THERE

WAS NO PROGRESS IN WORK ON THE NEXT PARAGRAPH, OR THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT. THE AUDIO-VISUAL TEXT WAS THE SUBJECT OF US-USSR BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS, WHICH CONFIRMED THE DIFFICULTY OF THIS ISSUE. NO PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED IN SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO WEST, ALTHOUGH IN BOTH GROUPS SPECIAL PRE-RECESS EFFORT NARROWED DIFFERENCES ON TEXTS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. IN CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE, SOVIETS CONTINUED TO RESIST ANY REFERENCE TO "PERSONAL" CONTACTS IN KEY WESTERN TEXT ON EXTENSION OF CONTACTS AND COMMUNICATIONS AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS. SOVIETS ALSO CONTINUED TO INSIST IN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE ON THEIR UNACCEPTABLE PROPOSAL CONCERNING CONTENT OF TEXTBOOKS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02016 02 OF 02 221236Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 BIB-01 ISO-00 HEW-02 OIC-02 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 CU-02 STR-01

OMB-01 OES-03 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 CIEP-01 CIAE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 /096 W

----- 058920

O R 221030Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1594

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 268

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA  
CINCLANT  
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 2016

DEPARTMENT PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- WORKING GROUP DEBATED WHETHER TO BEGIN DRAFTING OF THE PREAMBLE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, OR OPEN DISCUSSION OF THE ONE REMAINING IDEA FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN THE OPERATIVE SECTION -- THE DIFFICULT MALTESE/YUGOSLAV/VYPRIOU PROPOSAL THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES SHOULD HAVE A CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP WITH CSCE FOLLOW-UP. WHILE MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS ARE OPPOSED TO THIS IDEA, THERE IS SOME RELUCTANCE TO CONFRONT IT DIRECTLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 02016 02 OF 02 221236Z

RANEAN STATES SHOULD HAVE A CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP WITH CSCE FOLLOW-UP. WHILE MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS ARE OPPOSED TO THIS IDEA, THERE IS SOME RELUCTANCE TO CONFRONT IT DIRECTLY.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III -- COORDINATING COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED A WORKING GROUP ON TECHNICAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO STAGE III, WHICH WILL BEGIN WORK AFTER EASTER RECESS. UNTIL THEN DISCUSSION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III CONTINUES IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH NOW HAS RECEIVED SEVERAL INFORMAL LISTS OF ISSUES RELATING TO STAGE III. SOVIETS MEANWHILE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE NEXT WEEK. THIS QUESTION ALSO PROMISES TO BE DIFFICULT, WITH WESTERN DELEGATIONS STRONGLY PREFERING ONE OVERALL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT AND THE SOVIETS EVIDENTLY FAVORING FOUR SEPARATE DOCUMENTS DERIVING FROM EACH OF THE FOUR CSCE "BASKETS." WESTERN COUNTRIES FEEL THAT INCLUDING ALL TEXTS IN ONE DOCUMENT IS THE ONLY WAY TO ENSURE THAT ALL PARTS OF CSCE ARE TREATED EQUALLY.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING GROUP AGREED ON A LIST OF ELEMENTS AS A GUIDE FOR DRAFTING WORK ON THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE RESOLUTION ON GENERAL FOLLOW-UP, BUT SO SUBSTANTIVE DRAFTING HAS YET BEEN DONE ON OPERATIVE PASSAGES.

9. COMMENT: THE MOOD OF CSCE ON THE EVE OF ITS BRIEF EASTER RECESS WAS GENERALLY POSITIVE, AS FORMAL TABLING OF THE PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE, VIRTUAL COMPLETION OF THE NINTH PRINCIPLE, AND SIGNS OF GREATER SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON CBMS GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR THE CONFERENCE TO MOVE FORWARD ON THE SCHEDULE, NOW WIDELY ACCEPTED BY CONFERENCE DELEGATES, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO CONCLUSION OF STAGE II WORK ABOUT THE END OF MAY OR MID-JUNE. DESPITE SERIOUS REMAINING PROBLEMS IN BASKET III, WHERE THE SOVIETS

REMAIN AS TOUGH AS EVER, THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S DECISION TO ESTABLISH A WORKING GROUP ON STAGE III WAS AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF THE MAJORITY VIEW OF WHERE WE ARE.

10. WITH THE EASTER RECESS IN VIEW THE SOVIETS BEGAN STEP-PING UP PRESSURES FOR PROGRESS, AS THEY HAVE DONE ON SIMILAR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 02016 02 OF 02 221236Z

OCCASIONS IN THE PAST, AND THE EXPECTATION WAS THAT THIS WOULD CONTINUE DURING THE THREE REMAINING CONFERENCE WORKDAYS BEFORE EASTER. ALTHOUGH ONLY BASKET II AND SUBCOMMITTEES ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION WILL HAVE MEETINGS NEXT WEEK, THERE ARE STILL POSSIBILITIES FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON SOME ADDITIONAL TEXTS BEFORE THE RECESS, PROVIDED THE SOVIETS MAKE A FEW CONCESSIONS. BUT THEY HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR TOUGH AND INFLEXIBLE LINE ON KEY BASKET III ISSUES, AND THEIR STUBBORNNESS CONTINUES TO MAKE ANY PROGRESS MOST DIFFICULT IN THIS AREA OF THE CONFERENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S DISCUSSION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III WAS A REMINDER THAT CSCE WILL HAVE TO FACE ANOTHER COMPLEX OF DIFFICULT ISSUES BEFORE STAGE II CAN BE CONCLUDED. END COMMENT. DALE

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY'S PARTY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETING REPORTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975GENEVA02016  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750101-0200  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750325/aaaaawlu.tel  
**Line Count:** 306  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <05 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - MARCH 17-21  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEW, SGEN, XG, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006